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SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 664th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 22 March 1993, at 11 a.m.

Chairman:	Mr. GAMBARI	(Nigeria)
later:	Mr. BATIOUK (Vice-Chairman)	(Ukraine)
later:	Mr. GAMBARI (Chairman)	(Nigeria)

- International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

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The meeting was called to order at 11.25 a.m.

INTERNATIONAL DAY FOR THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

The CHAIRMAN: I declare open the 664th meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid, a solemn meeting devoted to the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which has been proclaimed by the General Assembly and universally observed on 21 March of every year.

This International Day marks the thirty-third anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, an incident in which a number of innocent, black South Africans were brutally murdered while peacefully demonstrating against the infamous pass laws imposed by the apartheid regime. In all, 69 people lost their lives while many others were wounded.

We are observing this Day not only as a memorial to those who have died or suffered deprivation merely on account of their race, especially in South Africa, but also to reawaken ourselves to existing realities in the world whereby a new wave of nationalism has led some to embark on ethnic cleansing and other racially motivated acts of violence against people who are different from their own stock.

We cannot be indifferent to the existence of racism wherever it occurs or to a groundswell of attempts to encourage distinctions between people based on race under whatever pretext. In accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and specific tenets of the United Nations Charter, it is incumbent on us all collectively to fight racism. We in the Special Committee are therefore gratified that we have been joined in this observance by the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Stoyan Ganev, our Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and Mr. Terence O'Brien, who is serving as President of the Security Council this month. It is my honour to welcome them to this solemn meeting.

(The Chairman)

I wish also to welcome the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the Chairman of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Mr. Renagi Renagi Lohia and Mr. Luis Valencia Rodriguez respectively, as well as presiding officers of United Nations bodies, Permanent Representatives and Observers, the representatives of national liberation movements and all other participants who are with us today.

We are gathered here today to commemorate the massacre at Sharpeville that occurred 33 years ago in which 69 peacefully demonstrating men, women and children lost their lives. This tragedy shook the conscience of the world community and led the General Assembly to proclaim 21 March as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. This day has since become a day of rededication to the noble ideals of human equality and human freedom. It gives us an opportunity to reaffirm once again our unequivocal opposition to and rejection of any form of discrimination based on race, colour, nationality or national origin. It is important to do so because the world today is still witnessing the tragic consequences of discrimination. Deprivation of human dignity and violation of human rights continue to pose a threat to peace and stability in many parts of the world.

The observance of this Day provides us with yet another opportunity to express our determination that racial discrimination in its most abhorrent institutionalized manifestation - apartheid - be finally and completely eradicated. For decades, the black majority of the people of South Africa have lived under the oppressive and discriminatory conditions of apartheid. The doctrine of separateness has not only bitterly divided that nation, but also resulted in glaring disparities in the socio-economic situation.

(The Chairman)

The mass poverty among the black population is perhaps the most striking feature of South African society. It is estimated that 17.5 million people - roughly half of the entire population - live in households with incomes below the minimum living level. Another 7 million black people live in shacks. Forty-five per cent of the entire black population have not been taught to read or write. Employment is a critical issue too. There are between four and six million unemployed, most of them in their economically productive years.

(The Chairman)

The tremendous disparities in the socio-economic sector are a daily reminder that the past suffering and deprivation continue to be part of the present. We realize that the dismantling of a system which has been so deeply embedded in the State structure and society will be a very difficult task indeed. It may be many years before the scars and the legacy of apartheid will begin to fade. Despite these obvious difficulties, we must make a beginning, no matter how modest.

But today we are heartened to see that South Africa has begun the necessary march along that difficult road of breaking away from the clutches of racism and moving towards a non-racial, just and democratic society.

Recently, a delegation of the Special Committee against Apartheid, including myself, returned from a mission to South Africa. The mission successfully established contacts and held broad-based consultations with high-ranking representatives of all the major parties and actors involved in the ongoing political process. The delegation took the opportunity of this historic visit to make an on-the-spot assessment of the political process now under way in the country, and it engaged in an open and frank manner with all the leaders, other individuals, institutions and organizations it met, and conducted discussions on the present situation in the country.

The most important conclusion we in the delegation drew from the visit was that all parties and tendencies in South Africa have finally realized and accepted that there is no alternative to negotiations and that any delay in bringing about a political settlement could be disastrous for the entire country. All the parties are also willing to talk and, what is even more

(The Chairman)

encouraging, willing to implement an agreement that could be reached. There is also an understanding among major political players that reconciliation and peaceful transition in South Africa may require the establishment of a government of national unity that could last for several years after the first all-race elections.

The series of bilateral meetings between the South African Government and leaders of liberation movements and other political parties, as well as the multiparty planning conference, have created substantial ground for resumption of multiparty negotiations within two weeks from now. It is hoped that those negotiations will bring all parties to agree on transitional arrangements leading to the first-ever democratic elections in South Africa.

While recent developments in South Africa inspire optimism, we all know only too well how many times high hopes have been replaced with big disappointments. The situation in South Africa remains complex and fragile. There are still wide political differences among the parties. Perhaps one should not be too surprised if they tend to seek to shape a post-apartheid settlement that would be to their own individual benefit. It is also to be expected that smaller political parties will be afraid of being excluded when the major players reach an understanding. However, a peaceful transition will require political will among all the leadership involved in the negotiations to find as inclusive a solution as possible.

Unfortunately, the violence within the country continues to be a powerful destabilizing factor and easily lends itself to the purposes of those who are bent on derailing the peaceful process of transition from apartheid to a

(The Chairman)

non-racial democracy. Only an early political solution can create the conditions necessary for eradicating or reducing the level of violence and establishing a climate of domestic peace.

We trust that with the wise and dedicated effort of all political leaders of that country, and with the active support of the international community, South Africans - all of them - will be able to overcome the last obstacles that stand in the way of negotiations towards the adoption of a non-racial and democratic constitution.

It is of utmost importance that following, or in tandem with, a political settlement a new approach be devised by the United Nations with a view to helping South Africans eliminate the socio-economic legacies of apartheid. As we clearly understood in South Africa during our mission, the achievement of that goal will require enormous efforts on the part of South African society as well as significant input of resources from the international community as a whole.

We in the Special Committee against Apartheid are heartened by the prospect of the end of the obnoxious system of apartheid in South Africa. We are proud that our Committee, which over the years has played a leading role in mobilizing international opinion against apartheid, has also been able to contribute to making positive changes in South Africa.

Before calling on the President of the General Assembly to make a statement, I would like to invite all participants now to stand and observe a minute of silence in honour and memory of all the victims of the Sharpeville

(The Chairman)

massacre, and all other victims of apartheid and racial discrimination wherever they exist.

The participants observed a minute of silence.

The CHAIRMAN: I now have the honour and pleasure of inviting the President of the General Assembly, His Excellency Mr. Stoyan Ganev, to make a statement.

Mr. GANEV (Bulgaria), President of the General Assembly: Today we honour the memory of those who 33 years ago lost their lives at Sharpeville in South Africa. That was a tragic and historic event which marked a turning point in the acknowledgement by the United Nations and by the international community of the legitimacy of the opposition by the people of South Africa against the massive violation of human rights committed against them in the form of apartheid.

Since 1966, this day has been commemorated by the international community as an occasion for rejecting and condemning racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations. Once again, we take this opportunity to express our resolute opposition to any form of discrimination, whether based on race, colour, creed or national or ethnic origin.

Since its very beginnings, the United Nations has sought to secure international cooperation in solving international problems, especially when human rights were at stake. Since 1946 the General Assembly has consistently adopted an unequivocal stand against apartheid. Since its establishment in 1962, the Special Committee against Apartheid has spearheaded intemational efforts to resolve this important question.

(Mr. Ganev, President of the General Assembly)

It is in that context that we continue to refer to the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southem Africa, adopted by the General Assembly in December 1989. I would emphasize that the Declaration was adopted by consensus - the first time ever for an apartheid-related political issue since the founding of our Organization.

That historic decision laid down internationally agreed measures towards the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations on the basis of fundamental principles for a non-racial and democratic South Africa. Events in that country since the adoption of the Declaration have proved its relevance and significance. The Declaration and subsequent decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and efforts of the Secretary General have contributed significantly to positive developments in South Africa. They indicate that a common vision is evolving for a new South Africa, a process involving a broad spectrum of political parties and organizations.

There is every reason to hope, that in spite of the complex difficulties that remain, the new resolve of South African leaders across the political spectrum and the efforts of the international community will achieve in the foreseeable future the goal towards which we all have striven for so long: a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa. It is our sincere hope that the parties will persevere towards that goal in a spirit of determination, cooperation and reconciliacion.

(Mr. Ganev, President of the General Assembly)

The first free elections in South Africa and the adoption of a new democratic constitution would be a victory not only for all people in South Africa, but for all those in the international community who are committed to peace and justice and respect human rights.

This International Day is an occasion to recall the leading role played by the United Nations in the struggle against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid. The United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, and the Convention against Discrimination in Education attest to the serious efforts by the international community to ensure that equal rights of all people are respected.

However, as we observe this Day, we cannot close our minds to the immense suffering that communities and entire nationalities are enduring because of racial, ethnic and national discrimination in many parts of the world. As we see with relief that ideological barriers of the past have been brought down, we should acknowledge that the world is becoming increasingly interdependent each year. The notion that a given territory must belong to only one ethnic, cultural or religious group, to the exclusion of all others, leads, as we have seen, to bloodshed, violence and unspeakable violations of human rights. The need to co-exist and live in harmony should be the universal aspiration towards which the international community must channel its efforts in order to eradicate all forms of racial and ethnic discrimination. Let us, therefore, on this occasion, rededicate ourselves to the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination.

The CHAIRMAN: It is my distinct honour and pleasure to invite our Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to make a statement.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL: This day, observed annually as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, was inaugurated by resolution of the General Assembly in 1966. It honours the memory of the 69 peaceful demonstrators - mainly women and children - who were massacred at Sharpeville in 1960. And it calls on the international community to redouble its efforts to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination.

Each year the world community has honoured those who died at Sharpeville. It has reflected on their sacrifice. It has mobilized its thoughts, and its efforts, on behalf of the suffering victims of apartheid. And it has, increasingly, focused on the gigantic task of building the new South Africa.

This year, for example, the international observer missions in South Africa have called on all South Africans to dedicate themselves, on this Day, to peace and reconciliation.

This year the observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination coincides with an important moemnt in the process of negotiations in South Africa. They have entered a new phase.

Two weeks ago, on 5 and 6 March, a Multiparty Planning Conference was held at Kempton Park, South Africa, to plan for the resumption of full-scale, multiparty constitutional negotiations. It was attended by 26 delegations representing the broadest spectrum of political parties and organizations ever assembled on South African soil. In a far-reaching decision, participants committed themselves, individually and collectively, to multiparty constitutional negotiations to take place within the multiparty forum, as a matter of national urgency, not later than 5 April 1993.

(The Secretary-General)

This historic meeting is, in a sense, a tribute to the resilience, wisdom and determination of the South African leadership, both black and white, to forge ahead and rise above their differences to build a common future.

The United Nations, which is committed to facilitating the negotiating process, has spared no effort in bringing about peace and reconciliation. In July 1992, while the country was engulfed in endless recriminations, turmoil and politically motivated violence, the Security Council offered a forum to South African political leaders to state their positions. At the same time, it urged them to renounce violence and remove the remaining obstacles to resume negotiations. At the request of the Council, I deployed United Nations observers to assist in the strengthening of the mechanism of the National Peace Accord. Other international and regional organizations - the Organization of African Unity, the European Community, the Commonwealth - were invited likewise to send their own observers, and they are working together.

Today, it is generally recognized that these timely decisions and actions by the United Nations and other international organizations have helped in reducing political tension in South Africa. They have also had a positive impact on the political situation in the country.

At this point, I urge the leaders of all the parties and organizations to persevere in their efforts to reach an agreement on the principles and modalities for the difficult transition ahead. It is important that this agreement be based on the principles of inclusiveness, mutual tolerance and respect, which are so essential to bring about democratic rule through free elections and a new constitutional dispensation. In these endeavours, they can rest assured of the support of the United Nations and the international community at large.

(The Secretary-General)

But time is of the essence in South Africa, as elsewhere. A speedy settlement in South Africa is essential to allow the nation to address the serious economic imbalances resulting from decades of apartheid, and to return to the path of sustained economic growth. At a symposium last year in Windhoek, organs and agencies of the United Nations system looked into ways and means of addressing these imbalances. They are preparing now for the time when they can bring their full contributions to bear, particularly in the critical areas of health, education and housing, with special regard to the needs of children and women, the most vulnerable groups in South Africa.

(The Secretary-General)

It should be recalled in this connection that the United Nations has long been providing humanitarian, legal, educational and relief assistance to victims of apartheid - largely through the Trust Fund for South Africa and the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa.

Last year, at the Pledging Conference for assistance programmes for southern Africa, 27 Governments contributed a total of $7 million. At the Pledging Conference this morning - just 20 minutes ago - I also received important contributions from an equal number of Governments. I wish to thank all the donor countries for their generous contributions and to express the hope that other countries will also join in this genuine international humanitarian effort.

The massacre at Sharpeville - and the contempt which it showed for the rights of black South Africans - illustrated the horrors of apartheid at its worst. But there are other forms of racism besides the hideous institutional racism of apartheid. In too many countries, minorities feel threatened by intolerance and racial bigotry.

Democracy - the rule of the majority - can easily become the tyranny of the majority unless there are safeguards.

Opposition to racism and racial discrimination is inherent in the United Nations and its Charter. The Charter not only recognizes the importance of fundamental human rights, equality and the intrinsic value of each and every human being: it sees them as the essential foundation of true progress and lasting development.

The United Nations, in upholding the Charter, proclaims the universal values of human rights and the dignity of all human beings. Later this year,

(The Secretary-General)

in Vienna in June, we shall be holding the World Conference on Human Rights. This will provide an excellent opportunity to consider practical measures to protect and enhance human rights in the world.

The struggle against racism is not confined to southern Africa, and it must not be limited to words only. Human rights, including protection against racial discrimination, need to be put into law, and monitored and upheld in practice.

(spoke in French)

We are at the dawn of a new era in South Africa, an era marked by a will for reconciliation and a new determination to overcome the difficulties of all sorts through negotiation and dialogue, which have already been resumed. Certainly, there have been accidents along the way in the past. No one can predict what will happen in the future. But one fact is certain: for the first time, there is light at the end of the tunnel in South Africa. The enemies of yesterday have met at Kempton Park - as I have already mentioned - to engage in dialogue and to begin to formulate the elements of a process that will result, we hope, in a new, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The day will come when South Africa, this land that is so rich and so tormented, will have overcome the convulsions of the transition. With its dignity restored, with the fullest use of its means, and with the commitment of a people no longer at odds with itself, South Africa will be able to look to the future with confidence. Its victory, to be sure, will be first of all the victory of all South Africans, of all Africans. But it will also be the victory of mankind as a whole.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite His Excellency Mr. Terence O'Brien, President of the Security Council, to address this solemn meeting.

Mr. O'BRIEN (New Zealand), President of the Security Council: I wish to thank the Chairman and the members of the Committee for inviting me here today as President of the Security Council to participate in this year's observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

This meeting is taking place at a time when South Africa continues to be faced with the daunting challenge of exploring new avenues to achieve peacefully constitutional change for the establishment of a democratic and non-racial society. In this connection, the members of the Security Council recall that in welcoming last month the Secretary-General's decision to reinforce the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa with an increment of 10 additional observers, the Council noted that the presence of international observers in South Africa had a salutary effect on the political situation there.

In the view of the members of the Council, the recent Multi-Party Planning Conference, of which the Secretary-General has just spoken and in which a broad spectrum of political parties and organizations participated, including some that had not participated in the process of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), has offered a renewed and heightened opportunity for the resumption of constitutional negotiations. It is therefore the strong hope of the members of the Security Council that this development will be regarded as a watershed, for the decisions of that meeting do indicate a realization that constructive dialogue cannot survive the political turbulence and continuing spiral of violence currently prevailing in South

(Mr. O,Brien, President
of the Security Council)

Africa. The Security Council therefore urges the political entities in South Africa to seize this new opportunity and to nurture it in an environment rid of violence. No fruitful results of negotiations can be expected to develop so long as South Africa remains a crucible of violence.

The Security Council continues to watch closely developments in South Africa. It is determined to ensure assistance to the people of South Africa to end violence, the continuation of which would seriously jeopardize peace and security in the region. The Council will maintain support for all constructive efforts of the South African people to establish a democratic, non-racial and united country.

The CHAIRMAN: At this stage I should like to take a few minutes to escort the President of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council, who have asked to be excused owing to other pressing engagements.*

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* Mr. Batiouk (Ukraine), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

(The Chairman)

I now call on Mr. Renagi Renagi Lohia, Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Special Committee of 24).

Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea), Chairman, Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Special Committee of 24): On behalf of the Special Committee on Decolonization, I should like to express to the Chairman and to the other members of the Special Committee against Apartheid our appreciation for this opportunity to express our deep commitment to the principles of the United Nations and to join with you in observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

We are assembled today, 33 years after the tragedy of Sharpeville, to reaffirm our pledge to bring about an end to racial discrimination. This annual observance is no idle ritual. It touches a profound and continuing concern that is central to our beliefs and values as individuals, as representatives of diverse nations and as the custodians of our Charter and its ideals. Racial discrimination directly challenges these ideals. It is a form of violence that demeans its practitioners. As long as it is practised, it will be resisted, and shall be resisted, with all available means.

As we approach the end of the Second Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, we must keep uppermost in our minds that our commitment to the struggle against racial prejudice, discrimination and social injustice is directly related to the creation of peaceful conditions in today's interdependent world. These conditions require mutual respect for human dignity and friendly relations among nations.

(Mr. Lohia, Chairman,
Special Committee of 24)

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights". Regrettably, these fundamental principles of equality and non-discrimination are often flagrantly violated in our world today. The violation of the dignity and worth of the human person is blatantly expressed in the policies and practices of apartheid. This unjust and inhuman system runs counter not only to the basic tenets of international law and the Charter of the United Nations but indeed to the perception of our common humanity.

Today, as we recall that tragic day in Sharpeville, South Africa, which is observed as a milestone in the struggle against apartheid, I am equally mindful that this occasion should serve as a day of remembrance for all the innocent victims of the policy of apartheid in the 33 years that have elapsed since that infamous day in the annals of South African history.

On the occasion of this Day last year, great hopes were expressed that a peaceful settlement to the problems besetting South Africa could be reached. It is with regret that I note this has not happened. With the discontinuation of the work of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa in May 1992, there has been grave international concern about South Africa's future.

As recent events have indicated, the path to a united, multiracial South Africa is strewn with many difficulties. Since its inception, the United Nations has been at the forefront of international efforts to eliminate racial discrimination. In response to grave international concern about the future of South Africa, the Security Council recently called upon South African political leaders to cooperate in combating violence and removing the remaining obstacles to the resumption of negotiations.

(Mr. Lohia, Chairman,
Special Committee of 24)

In August 1992, the Security Council authorized the Secretary-General to dispatch observers to assist in the strengthening of the structures of the National Peace Accord. Today, there is general acknowledgement that these timely actions have helped to reduce political tension and to create an improved environment for renewed negotiations.

Notwithstanding these setbacks and delays, there have been some recent encouraging developments. We have been informed recently that the multiparty constitutional negotiations will resume early next month with a view to drafting and adopting a new constitution for South Africa. It is the fervent hope of the international community that, in a not-too-distant future, South Africa will take concrete steps leading to racial, social, political and economic harmony that will afford all South Africans the opportunity to exercise their basic human rights and to live together as equal citizens of a multiracial and democratic society.

While noting this encouraging development to bring about democratic rule through free elections and new constitutional arrangements, it is important to recognize that the eradication of apartheid will require fortitude, tolerance and perseverance on the part of all South African political leaders during the difficult period ahead.

The tasks entrusted to the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Special Committee on Decolonization bear a marked similarity. Both Committees were charged with defending the rights of the disenfranchised and to ensure self-determination, freedom, equality and basic human rights for all.

Both Committees can be justifiably proud of the changes they have wrought. However, both Committees are acutely aware that while progress has

(Mr. Lohia, Chairman,
Special Committee of 24)

been made, the final obstacles to the enjoyment of human rights by all still require commitment and dedication on the part of the international community.

As mandated by the General Assembly, the Special Committee on Decolonization is firmly committed to the eradication of colonialism by the end of this decade. We are also committed to increasing our efforts to ensure that the General Assembly's Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination will indeed be a reality.

Our earnest hope is that in the near future the General Assembly will be able to consign both the Committee against Apartheid and the Special Committee on Decolonization to the archives of history and that future scholars will shake their heads in horror that such despicable aberrations as apartheid and colonialism could have endured for so long.

The Special Committee on Decolonization will continue to follow events in South Africa during the difficult transition period ahead, and we assure you of our total support in your noble goal in defence of the inalienable right of peoples everywhere to self-determination and freedom and their enjoyment of basic human rights and human dignity. In so doing, we can expect to lessen the sufferings of those concerned and thereby contribute effectively to international harmony, peace and security.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite Mr. Luis Valencia Rodríguez, Chairman of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, to make his statement.

Mr. VALENCIA RODRIGUEZ (Chairman, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination) (interpretation from Spanish): At the meeting of the Security Council held on 31 January 1992, the Heads of State and Government declared,

> "The non-military sources of instability in the economic, social, humanitarian and ecological fields have become threats to peace and security". (S/PV.3046, p.143)

For his part, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in his annual report of 1992, stated,

> "Respect for human rights is clearly important in order to maintain international peace and security", (A/47/1, para. 109)

especially when there are massive and flagrant violations of human rights in the face of which the Organization cannot remain passive or indifferent. He recalled that the credibility of the United Nations as a whole will depend on the actions taken to face up to such a situation.

The International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, adopted 21 December 1965, reaffirmed that

> "discrimination between human beings on the grounds of race, colour or ethnic origin is an obstacle to friendly and peaceful relations among nations and is capable of disturbing peace and security among peoples". (resolution 2106 (XX), part A., annex, seventh preambular para.)

We are now witnessing tremendous, barbaric abuses rooted in racial or ethnic hatred, similar to events we thought had been left behind with the end of the Second World War. Tragic events are taking place that, among other consequences, lead to the disintegration of some poltical structures, particularly in Eastern Europe, and the weakening of certain State systems in other regions.

(Mr. Valencia Rodríguez, Chairman, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination)

In this context, the definition found in article 1 of the Convention becomes more timely. There it is stated that the term "racial discrimination" means

> "any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on considerations of race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life." (resolution 2106 (XX), article 1, para. 1)

Today those distinctions, exclusions, restrictions and preferences are the cause of massacres, displacement of populations, oppression, homelessness, persecution and hunger.

The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, established in accordance with article 8 of the Convention, is charged with monitoring the application of this instrument through an international control system in which reports are submitted by the States Parties and examined. Thus, in accordance with article 9, paragraph 2 of the Convention, the Committee reports annually to the General Assembly on its activities and makes

> "suggestions and general recommendations based on the examination of the reports and information received from the States Parties." (resolution 2106 (XX), article 9, para. 2)

This is, in essence, the primary responsibility of the Committee and the international monitoring mechanism.

Within the bounds of its competence, the Committee is responding to new challenges presented by the current international situation. Hence, it has

(Mr. Valencia Rodríguez, Chairman, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination)

adopted various innovative procedures that encompass two fields of action: early-warning measures and emergency-action measures. The former are aimed at preventing existing structural problems from degenerating into conflicts, and among them are included actions intended to strengthen racial tolerance and consolidate peace in order to prevent recurrences of conflicts of racial or ethnic origin. The purpose of the latter is to prevent the spread of conflicts that require immediate attention in order to stop massive violations rooted in racial discrimination.

Among the early-warning measures, the Committee has established a follow-up mechanism for the suggestions and recommendations contained in the final observations drawn up after the examination of each periodic report of the States Parties; it has offered to send to the States one or more members of the Committee in order to facilitate the application of the provisions of the Convention or help in solving specific problems; it has encouraged the States Parties, as appropriate, to make use of the advisory services or programmes of technical cooperation of the Centre for Human Rights; the members of the Committee have made themselves available to the Centre, in their capacity as experts, to provide the services needed by the States Parties; the Committee has also worked in closer cooperation with the regional mechanisms charged with the promotion and protection of human rights and has promoted a greater flow of international cooperation for the promotion and defence of human rights in connection with the elimination of racial discrimination.

Among the emergency-action measures, the Committee has agreed to request the States Parties, within a fixed period of time and when circumstances warrant, to submit special reports relating to measures adopted to prevent

(Mr. Valencia Rodríguez, Chairman, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination)

violations of provisions of the Convention; to designate a special rapporteur of the Committee to act as a focal point for the coordination of actions that must be taken in case of emergency; to request the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in exercise of the powers entrusted to him by the Charter, to bring certain situations to the attention of the Security Council for consideration; to communicate its concern, along with its recommendations for measures to be adopted, to the appropriate State Party, the Secretary-General or the Special Rapporteur recently designated by the Commission on Human Rights in accordance with its resolution 1993/20; to cooperate, within the sphere of its competence, in order to achieve the fulfilment of the objectives established in General Assembly resolution 47/120.

These new measures, in addition to informal meetings or seminars, complement those the Committee has been carrying out in the discharge of its duties, which have grown considerably, not only because the number of States parties has increased to 133, but mainly because of the need to deal with the grave manifestations of racism and racial discrimination seen today, which have culminated in what has been termed "ethnic cleansing".

(Mr. Valencia Rodríguez, Chairman, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination)

Through its persistent work, the Committee has been able to identify various forms of racial discrimination throughout the world. It has reached the conclusion that no society is immune from this serious evil and that measures of various kinds and scope are needed everywhere effectively to fight this scourge. In many cases, this phenomenon is latent, almost hidden by custom, tradition, practice or the legacy of colonialism, and it is therefore all the more dangerous. Many factors - be they political, economic or social - can set it off with disastrous consequences, as has been shown by events we are witnessing every day. It is therefore urgent that the process of considering States parties' reports be extremely rigorous and that the most in-depth investigations be made of the historic, political, cultural and socio-economic phemonena that are the underlying causes of racial discrimination in many societies.

Faced with new and horrible manifestations of intolerance, incitation to racial hatred and the most repugnant racism, the Committee is prepared to meet these new and enormous dangers, to seek States' cooperation, to promote understanding and tolerance between human groups and societies, and to adopt, in the words of the Convention,

> "all necessary measures for speedily eliminating racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations". (resolution 2106 (XX) A, annex, preambular paragraph 10)

It is therefore urgent that States which have not yet done so - including the main actors in the international community - become parties to the Convention in order to ensure the true universality of its scope as a human

(Mr. Valencia Rodríguez, Chairman, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination)

rights instrument. It is also necessary that the communications media cooperate in this great international effort through the broadest possible dissemination of the work and achievements of the Committee.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa, Mr. Maduna, to make a statement.

Mr. MADUNA (African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)): We are again gathered here to observe one of the most important days in the calendar of our people's struggle against racial discrimination, namely, Sharpeville Day, a day declared by the United Nations General Assembly as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. It was on this day 33 years ago that the South African security forces killed 69 innocent anti-pass-law demonstrators in Sharpeville and Langa. We in the African National Congress rededicate ourselves to the noble idea for which the Sharpeville Day victims made the supreme sacrifice.

Let me through you, Sir, extend our profound gratitude to the Special Committee Against Apartheid for the support, solidarity and important and invaluable services rendered to our cause against the system of apartheid. I should also like to extend our appreciation to the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Ibrahim Gambari, for the recently completed fact-finding mission to South Africa. We hope that the mission's findings will strengthen the work of the Committee within the United Nations. Let me, in the same vein, convey our gratitude to the staff of the United Nations Centre against Apartheid and its director, Mr. Johan Nordenfelt, for their support to the African National Congress and the people of South Africa as a whole. We are also indebted to those who spoke earlier for their messages of solidarity and support for the cause of our people.

(Mr. Maduna, ANC)

The Multi-Party Negotiations Planning Conference aimed at securing consensus on the resumption of full-scale multi-party constitutional negotiations held at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg recently was a culmination of a series of bilateral talks between the African National Congress and the Pretoria Government, as well as with all other interlocutors on the South African political scene. We hope that the spirit of goodwill which characterized the Negotiations Planning Conference will continue to prevail throughout the constitutional negotiations, for it is this spirit that is needed in the resolution of the South African problem.

Please permit me to take a few minutes to inform this meeting about a few important agreements reached by the Negiotiations Plarming Conference. It is a pleasure and an honour for me to inform members that the Negotiations Planning Conference resolved that the Multi-Party Forum for Negotiations shall be reconvened as a matter of national urgency not later than 5 April 1993. The first meeting of the Forum has since been scheduled to take place on 1 and 2 April. This meeting will determine, among other things, mechanisms and procedures, including chairpersonship; how to accommodate the views of those participants who were not in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) in relation to the agreements reached in CODESA; how these agreements can serve as a constructive foundation for the resumed or commenced negotiations process to build on; and how the Forum shall be structured and named. All participants are required to make an unqualified commitment to the process of negotiations as a prerequisite for their participation.

The most important resolution of the Conference which we did not have during the CODESA process was the deadlock-breaking mechanism. In this regard, the Planning Conference resolved that all decisions are to be taken by general consensus. If this cannot be achieved, the Conference will use the

(Mr. Maduna, ANC)

method of sufficient consensus. This means that, first, there is a lack of general consensus; secondly, there is, however, sufficient agreement from enough participants to enable the process to move forward; thirdly, the parties that disagree can record their objections or rejections formally but will, in the spirit of cooperation, not hinder the process; fourthly, the ruling that there is consensus or sufficient consensus, as the case may be, should be taken by the chairperson at his or her discretion. This can, however, be challenged by any party which disagrees. The meeting will then deal with the disagreement as appropriate. The Facilitating Committee will comprise one representative from each of the 26 participants that met at the Multi-Party Planning Conference held on 18 March to prepare for the first meeting of the Forum.

The African National Congress has, over the past few months, held a number of bilateral meetings with various parties in an attempt to have the multi-party negotiations resumed. Having successfully achieved this objective, it is important that this process continue in an uninterrupted manner. Our objective is the holding of free and fair elections that should give us a representative constitution-making body a constituent assembly that will draft and adopt a new constitution. The African National Congress will put the following proposals before the Multi-Party Negotiations Forum. First, the immediate result of the process of multi-party negotiation must be the installation of a transitional executive council, an independent electoral commission and an independant media commission. Secondly, the tasks of these structures will be to ensure that, in the period leading up to the elections, the playing field is levelled and that a climate conducive to free and fair

(Mr. Maduna, ANC)

political activity is created. Thirdly, the elections should lead to the installation of a constituent assembly and an interim government of national unity.

This perspective, broadly speaking, is already agreed amongst the majority of participants in the negotiations process, including the Pretoria Government. However, there is a second school of thought that has emerged with regard to the process of constitution-making. A loose grouping calling itself Concerned South Africans Group, which is led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Dr. Andries Treurnicht of the whites-only Conservative Party, advocates that the new constitution be drafted by a body of constitutional experts under the auspices of the Multy-Party Forum and be presented to a referendum for adoption. Needless to say, this grouping and its perspective derive from a deep-seated fear of the consequences of non-racial democratic elections implied in the constituent assembly route. They fear that an election will cost them the disproportional influence they have in the Multi-Party Forum. It is our belief that an elected constitution-making body, with all its imperfections, will accord to the process the sorely missing element of legitimacy which a body of experts mandated by the Multi-Party Forum will not. We hope to be able to persuade all these parties that our people's right to participate in a transparent constitution-making process will be accorded greater respect in and through an elected constituent assembly.

(Mr. Maduna, ANC)

Let me seize this opportunity to dispel a myth which has been disseminated by certain political organizations and individuals, namely that the ANC is making secret deals with the Pretoria Government and that we are prematurely calling for the lifting of sanctions. To deal with the former matter, it is true that we have been having bilateral discussions with many political parties, including the ruling National Party, about the resumption of the constitutional negotiations. It is also true that many other parties have had bilateral discussions with the ruling National Party and with us, with the same objective in mind. It is in the interest of our country that these bilateral and multilateral discussions should continue.

On the question of sanctions, the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, at a meeting held at Johannesburg from 16 to 18 February 1993, reaffirmed the pivotal role played by the international community and resolved to ask for the lifting of sanctions only once there is an announced and agreed date for the elections, and once the transitional executive council and the independent electoral and media commissions have been established. It is at that stage that diplomatic, gold-coin, trade and trade-credits, new-investment, loan and other financial sanctions should be lifted. The National Executive Committee also brought it to the attention of the international community that the multi-party transitional executive council will be the appropriate institution through which to enter into any official agreements. The National Executive Committee further called upon the international community to ensure strict observance of the arms and oil- and petroleum-products embargoes until a democratic Government has been installed.

(Mr. Maduna, ANC)

Continued minority rule, corruption in high places in Government and the maladministration of the South African economy will continue to affect mostly the poor and disenfranchised indigenous population. Nine million people are without jobs and 7 million are living in squatter camps, yet the Government continues to spend $1.33 billion a year on covert operations by the South African Defence Force. This year's budget too is going to bring more suffering to our people: there are no job-creation efforts to improve the lives of the more than 18 million people living below the poverty line. The Government has allocated only $507.9 million for housing; this means nothing given the fact that 300,000 houses need to be built every year in order to start addressing the problem of housing.

The education situation is equally critical; only $7.206 million will go into education, when there are 14 million people who do not know how to read or write. There is no suggestion in the budget that the education allocation should no longer be based on race as has been the case hitherto; from the look of things, the various race-based education departments will still get allocations based, as usual, on race. The 14 per cent increase in value added tax and the 16-per-cent increment in the fuel levy is going to increase inflation by 2.9 per cent; according to the Central Statistical Service, inflation rose from 9.6 per cent to 9.7 per cent from December 1992 to January 1993 while prices rose by 1.1 per cent on average.

If anything, this emphasizes the urgent need to end the tyranny of minority rule and to establish a Government which will be more representative of and accountable to the entire people of our country. Only such a

(Mr. Maduna, ANC)

Government will ensure that the taxes levied upon the public will be utilized to address the basic needs of the entire populace.

There is a strong feeling already emerging among the democratic forces in South Africa that the international community, and the United Nations in particular, should start looking into the feasibility of rendering assistance in confining the South African Defence Force to barracks, particularly during the period leading to the elections. Confinement to barracks will ensure free and fair elections. This is an issue worth noting, given the potential of the South African Defence Force for subversion.

Let me conclude my remarks by reiterating the solidarity of the African National Congress with the people of Angola in their endeavour to find a peaceful solution to their problem and by pledging the ANC's commitment to putting pressure on the South African Government to observe in particular paragraph 9 of Security Council resolution 804 (1993) and other relevant paragraphs of the Council's resolution on Angola.

We also call on the South African Government immediately to stop the supply of war matériel to the Government of Rwanda and to observe paragraph 9 of Security Council resolution 812 (1993).

Finally, we would like to convey our message of support and solidarity to struggling peoples the world over in their struggle for justice and peace.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, Mr. S.E.M. Pheko, to make a statement.

Mr. PHEKO (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)): On behalf of the unconquerable Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), the custodian of the genuine aspirations and national interests of the dispossessed people of

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

Azania, I express deep gratitude to the United Nations for annually observing 21 March. I extend appreciation also to all the nations of the world which have supported and continue to support United Nations measures intended to eradicate apartheid colonialism in South Africa.*

The events of 21 March 1960 took place as a result of the Sharpeville uprising. This was a positive action campaign against apartheid colonialism. The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania led that uprising. Through the Sharpeville uprising, the PAC made the vile system of apartheid colonialism known internationally. On 1 April 1960, at its 856th meeting, the Security Council discussed and, for the first time, condemned South Africa. Prior to the Sharpeville uprising at which 89 PAC supporters were killed and 365 wounded, only people of Indian origin in South Africa were being discussed.

But the martyrs of Sharpeville and Langa and other places in Azania changed all that. Without the Sharpeville uprising, there might never have been a Special Committee against Apartheid or indeed a day on the United Nations calendar set aside as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. That is the humble contribution the PAC indirectly made towards the destruction of racism and the myth of white supremacy in South Africa.

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* The Chairman returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

Commenting on the Sharpeville uprising and some of its consequences, a prominent African journalist, now a Professor of literature, Lewis Nkosi, noted that

> "On March 21st 1960, Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, President of the banned Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, helped to orchestrate a crisis that panicked the South African Government and nearly brought about the kind of political situation which all too often makes possible the transference of power overnight".

Paul Sauer, acting Prime Minister in the absence of Mr. Hendrick Verwoerd, who had just narrowly escaped death by assassination, spoke at Humansdorp in the Cape Province 15 days after PAC leaders had been sentenced to imprisonment for the Sharpeville uprising. He said:

> "The old book of South African history was closed a month ago [by PAC] and, for the immediate future, South Africa will reconsider in earnest and honestly her whole approach to the Native question."

The Sharpeville uprising remains the symbol of struggle in South Africa for national liberation to this minute.

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

But I also want to point out that the PAC has not only made history, and continues to do so, but has always preferred peace to war. Not long ago The Star newspaper, not friendly to the PAC, admitted in an editorial:

"The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has a proud record. It started as a peace movement. It launched the Pass Campaign that ended in the Sharpeville Massacre. The Sharpeville episode, more than any other event before, focused world attention on apartheid and helped change history."

I come to the question of negotiations and the PAC's position. From the very beginning, the PAC advocated a Patriotic United Front of all organizations of the oppressed; that is, African unity before talks with the South African regime could take place. This was indispensable if negotiations for majority rule in South Africa (Azania) were not to result in co-option, collusion, secret deals and betrayal of the oppressed. Unfortunately, the Patriotic United Front mandate and demands were betrayed, particularly on the question of a neutral convener and a neutral chairman.

The PAC refused to join the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). It held its own bilateral negotiations under the terms of its own Congress and those of the Patriotic United Front. The first formal meeting between the PAC and the South African regime took place in Abuja on 10 April 1992. This was under the chairmanship of the Foreign Minister of Nigeria.

In July 1992, during the Security Council meeting in New York to discuss the genocidal violence, raised by the PAC through the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the South African regime approached the PAC delegation. It proposed further discussions. The PAC agreed, on condition the talks would be held under a neutral convener and in a neutral territory. Subsequently, the

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regime met the PAC in Botswana under the chairmanship of that country's Foreign Minister, Dr. Gaositwe Chiepe.

On the agenda the PAC put forward, inter alia, the following items: a new, more representative forum; a democratically elected constituent assembly to draw up a democratic constitution for a liberated Azania; and a transitional authority supervised by parties subscribing to a democratically elected constituent assembly and by the United Nations.

The regime accepted the agenda and added two more items - violence and attacks on the security forces. The regime also proposed an interim government and an interim constitution. The PAC rejected the "interim" idea, and wanted the eradication of apartheid and the decolonization of the country dealt with through a democratically elected constituent assembly.

It was obvious that the "interim government" was being used to rescue the economy of South Africa, call off sanctions, return to the international community through this intrigue, perpetuate apartheid in a new form and continue the national dispossession of the African people.

Let me deal with what Mr. de Klerk is offering. There is excitement among the unschooled that there are genuine negotiations in South Africa for majority rule - democracy. Fortunately, Mr. F. W. de Klerk, Mr. Pik Botha and their colleagues have never minced their words as to what they are offering the dispossessed African majority.

On 17 April 1990, addressing the South African Parliament, Mr. F. W. de Klerk said, inter alia:

> "... there are really only three alternatives with which to replace the existing constitutional model ... They are partition, simplistic majority rule on the basis of one person, one vote or power sharing ... We believe

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that majority rule is not suitable for a country like South Africa because it will lead to the domination and suppression of minorities. This applies to a unitary system ... We are not prepared to destroy existing rights"

which means, of course, for whites

"or allow them to be destroyed. Anyone who believes that we will accept a dispensation in which the quality of existing liberties and rights are dismantled, is mistaken.

"Those who enjoy full political rights at present are not prepared to bow out apologetically from the stage of history. On the contrary, a key role awaits them in any new dispensation. We shall not throw the freedom and values that have been built over three centuries overboard. It is also with this point in view that I shall be going to the negotiating table ...".

Mr. Pik Botha, for his part, has said:

"The Government has received a mandate from whites to negotiate power-sharing ... If there was a deviation from this mandate, the government would have to go to white voters."

The PAC has no mandate to negotiate power-sharing or "interim government". In this it has the support of the African majority. According to a Human Sciences Research Council survey done by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, 50 per cent of the Africans are against an "interim government".

The most disturbing thing that is taking place in South Africa is the genocidal violence by the minority regime committed through Buffalo Battalion 32, Koevoets mercenaries and local death squads. On 14 September 1991 the PAC demanded the verifiable expulsion of all mercenaries

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in the country, under international supervision, as well as the disbanding of local death squads. The PAC stated that unless this was done the so-called National Peace Accord and the Goldstone Commission would fail to stop the genocidal violence. The PAC also wanted an international commission, not a commission appointed by the South African regime, such as the Goldstone Commission.

Figures just released by the South African minority Parliament are horrifying. They prove beyond reasonable doubt that there is genocide of the African people in South Africa: 20,135 people were killed in 1992. This means that more than 55 people die every day and 2.3 people every hour. This is much higher than the PAC's figure of 15 people per day and one person every one and a half hours, which some people took for exaggeration by the PAC.

The South African minority Parliament has budgeted R 11.124 billion for its army. The regime has set aside R 5 billion for secret operations. This large sum of money is not subject to audit. It is used for assassinations, massacres and the purchase of sophisticated weapons and nuclear technology. This is at a time when Africa is supposed to be a nuclear-free zone. Is not South Africa part of Africa? The regime also continues to conscript.

There have been over 50 major massacres of Africans in South Africa. The killing of Africans is intended to reduce the African population numerically. This is done simultaneously with a massive recruitment of immigrants, especially from eastern European countries.

The World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa has reported an agreement between a Russian-based company, Ecotrends, and a South African company, Safair, to lease Russian aircraft such as the Antonov AN-131 transport aircraft and MI-26 helicopters. It was also reported that South Africa was negotiating the purchase of Russian Mig-29 fighters.

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It is painful for me to refer to the use of AIDS against Africans. But on an occasion when we commemorate those who sacrificed their lives for us it is important that I state the whole truth as I know it, on their behalf.

The genocide of the African people is not only committed through open physical violence. For over two and a half years now we have told various United Nations forums that Askaris and other agents of the South African regime suffering from AIDS were being unleashed on African women in the townships. Two and a half years ago we reported that, according to an affidavit by Ronald Desmond Bezuidenhout, members of the South African assassin squads used Askaris infected with AIDS to spread the deadly virus in the African townships. Bezuidenhout is a former policeman and a member of the counter-insurgency unit based in Vlakplaas. He said: "I was ordered by Major de Kock to take the infected Askaris to the townships to sleep with black women and spread the virus."

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Today medical sources in South Africa reveal a horrifying picture. Conservative estimates reveal that 300,000, mostly African, people are infected with the virus. The virus spreads to at least 300 new carriers every day. In about 5,000 cases the virus has erupted into AIDS. South African medical research itself has confirmed this disturbing state of affairs.

There must be equal protection of life in South Africa. South Africa has insisted that the PAC must disarm. The killing of people in South Africa boils down to who is killed, what is the colour of the skin. If the regime kills Africans or misguided Africans kill other Africans, it matters little. In fact, certain countries today give millions of dollars to those organizations that are killing their own people. But when whites are killed, the wildest screams are heard. Racism shows its true colours. The victims of apartheid are pursued with a tenacity of purpose and a pertinacity of will that are absent when Africans are killed by the regime and those it has duped into killing their own people for foreign interests promoted by sectarian elements.

For instance, when five whites in King William's Town were killed on 29 November 1992, 50,000 Rand - the equivalent of $20,000 - was immediately offered to anyone who could give information leading to the arrest and conviction of the perpetrators. Within minutes, 42 military vehicles were on the scene of the incident and the army was mobilized.

Genuine belief in human rights demands that we all cultivate a philosophy that looks at life not as white life, and therefore deserving of more attention than black life. Africans, who are killed every day, are treated as

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mere statistics. It is probably for this reason that Archbishop Desmond Tutu has questioned the reaction of the regime and of its backers to alleged attacks, in the light of the regime's apparent reluctance to quell violence which has already claimed thousands of African lives.

Archbishop Tutu has said:

"There are those people who can say it is clear that a black life is cheaper than a white life, because if people who are dying on the trains and in the taxis were white people, the Government would have stopped the violence long ago."

South Africa has a 114,000-strong police force. It is the largest in Africa. Indeed, the President of the United States, Mr. Bill Clinton, himself said recently:

"... the South African Government must use the mandate it has received from the referendum vote to prosecute the perpetrators of the violence with the same zeal as it did when pursuing leaders of the anti-apartheid movements".

All killing must be stopped in South Africa.

I must now draw it to the attention of this body that among so-called political prisoners that were released in accordance with the Record of Understanding of 26 September 1992 were criminals of the South African regime. One of them is Barend Strydom. In November 1988 Strydom gunned down eight innocent Africans in broad daylight in the heart of Pretoria. After his release as a so-called political prisoner, in accordance with the so-called guidelines agreed with the regime on 26 September 1992, Barend Strydom vowed that he would kill again. To prove that he had an incorrigible criminal mind,

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he called a press conference and announced his intentions on exactly the spot where he had killed victims of apartheid in 1988. But Strydom's action and that of the regime in releasing such a dangerous criminal have not invoked the kind of hysteria that was witnessed over the King William's Town incident. And right now there are 306 political prisoners on death row. This is contrary to the United Nations Declaration of 14 December 1989.

PAC policy is against the killing of civilians - be they black or white. The PAC insists that all killing must be stopped in South Africa, not only the killing of whites. At present only Africans are military "soft targets" of the South African army and security forces. African civilians alone frequent graveyards with monotonous regularity. They are subjected to the peace of the grave.

The talks between the South African regime and the PAC which broke down in Botswana on 3 March 1993 did so over the regime's insistence on disarming Africans while it refused to expel all mercenaries from the country verifiably and under the supervision of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

The South African regime then broke off the talks and said it would not allow the PAC to attend the preparatory meeting for the multilateral meeting scheduled for 5 and 6 March 1993. Mr. Willy Seriti, PAC's Secretary for Constitutional and Legal Affairs, said that PAC would attend. He said:

"The majority of the people of this country have the right to be represented at something that could lead to a constituent assembly".

The PAC attended the meeting to ensure that bilateral talks made way for multilateral talks; to ensure that the new forum for negotiations would have

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a new name and a new structure; to ensure that the new forum was free from the defects of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) and that it had transparency, neutrality, deadlock-breaking machinery and democracy as opposed to secret deals; and to ensure elections for a constituent assembly.

The PAC has made it clear that the multilateral forum for negotiations it intends to attend is not CODESA. CODESA agreements are not binding on the new forum, but former CODESA parties can resubmit those agreements for discussion, and they may be accepted or rejected.

Much euphoria and confusion has been created over the negotiations in South Africa and so-called positive changes, in the midst of genocide. The changes are superficial. They are not fundamental. The mere existence of negotiations in South Africa is not enough. They can break down. Also, they could deliver disguised minority rule under the cover of "power-sharing" or so-called interim government and negate the whole concept of democracy.

South Africa is a very rich country. The stakes are very high there. This is precisely why the country was never decolonized. Those who are truly on the side of the victims of apartheid and colonialism must not asssume that Mr. De Klerk really wants change. No oppressor has ever left the stage of history on his own. An African proverb says: "Dirt, even when it is at the door, never leaves the room on its own. A broom is always necessary to sweep it out".

To the PAC what is important is the items on the agenda and the outcome of the negotiation process, not the mere existence of negotiations.

The negotiation process should be a truly decolonizing one, leading to the emergence of a new African State, representing the rights to sovereignty

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and independence of the people of Azania and their right to self-determination. The negotiation process should be democratic and democratizing. If it is exclusive and is based on secrecy, deals and intrigues, the so-called new South Africa will be a house built on sand.

The sun set over the people of Azania - colonially called South Africa since 20 September 1909 - over 300 years ago. Like the people of Palestine, whose noble struggle the PAC supports, the African indigenous majority has been sitting under the shadow of sunset and national humiliation for far too long. They have struggled for the sun of righteousness to rise over them and their children once again. They deserve a "sunrise clause" in their political agenda and genuine negotiations, not a defeatist "sunset clause".

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

The martyrs of Sharpeville and Langa, whose lives we commemorate on this International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, sacrificed their lives for the noblest cause on Earth: the freedom of mankind. They and their people deserve a much greater reward. Their blood is crying out for justice to be done to the victims of apartheid and colonialism in South Africa without playing the dangerous game of kith and kin politics, pseudo-democracy, sectarianism, and economic and other selfish interests. May the day of national liberation come soon to the people of Azania and Palestine.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite Mrs. Maha Khoury of the Permanent Observer Mission of Palestine to the United Nations, to make a statement.

Mrs. KHOURY (Palestine): On behalf of the Permanent Observer Mission of Palestine to the United Nations, I should like to express our solidarity with the people of South Africa on this important occasion, the observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, honouring the victims of the Sharpeville massacre.

The black majority of South Africa have struggled for many decades to end their suffering. Not only have they appealed for assistance from the international community to help them eliminate apartheid, but they have also organized themselves at home and at every level of their society in their resistance to the evils of the system of apartheid - a system that has denied them proper housing, health care and education, a system that has denied black children the right to live in peace and prosperity and does not even allow them the opportunity to develop and grow because their only crime is their colour: black.

Indeed, the black majority of South Africa organized themselves and said no to repression and denial and yes to freedom and democracy. They garnered the support of many nations, which resulted in the imposition of sanctions,

(Mrs. Khoury, Palestine)

among many other measures of political constraints, against the Pretoria regime. In essence, the struggle of the black majority of South Africa was and continues to be the major catalyst that has engaged the international community in their plight and in turn created the political force that triggered the current negotiation process.

Indeed, it is also the struggle of the black majority of South Africa that led to the retraction of some of the Pretoria regime's practices and to the resumption of the upcoming constitutional negotiations. However, the overall situation remains volatile. Apartheid remains the rule of law for the black majority. It is our firm conviction that the United Nations should continue its efforts in trying to reach a solution to the question of South Africa.

The United Nations, and specifically the Security Council, must remain seized of the question of South Africa and should actively contribute to the current negotiation process in order to ensure its continuity and success, ultimately leading to the establishment of a new, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Moreover, although some progress has been made due to the negotiations, the sanctions against the Pretoria regime should be maintained and should gradually be lifted as progress is made towards the formation of an interim government of national unity and the establishment of a democratically elected constituent assembly. The voice and support of the international community continues to be a major factor in achieving a just and lasting peace in South Africa.

(Mrs. Khoury, Palestine)

As Palestinians, we attach special importance to the question of South Africa. Our history is similar. Our suffering and reason for being repressed are the same. Our hopes and aspirations are alike. We have organized ourselves and have struggled for freedom and independence and for our right to self-determination.

The question of Palestine has been on the agenda of the United Nations since 1948. It is of paramount importance, as in the case of South Africa, that the United Nations remain seized of the question of Palestine to guarantee a just and lasting solution to the problem.

On behalf of the Palestinian people, I should like to express solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa in their quest for self-determination, freedom and democracy. We praise our brothers in the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania for the exemplary leadership they have displayed in their struggle, and particularly the wise leadership of ANC President Nelson Mandela. We reiterate our support and hope that one day soon peace and justice will prevail and that both our peoples will live in peace, equality, harmony and prosperity.

The CHAIRMAN: We have just heard the last speaker in our meeting today. Before adjourning, however, I should like to inform participants that on the occasion of the International Day, many Heads of State or Government have graciously sent messages to the Special Committee. The total number of messages we have received so far is 14. They are from the Heads of State or Government of Afghanistan, Antigua and Barbuda, China, Cyprus, Guinea, Indonesia, Jordan, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Suriname, Tunisia, Viet Nam and Zambia.

(The Chairman)

Messages have also been received from Ministers for Foreign Affairs and other Government officials of the following countries: Argentina, Barbados, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Chile, Denmark (on behalf of the members of the European Community), Guyana, India, Jamaica, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Peru, South Africa, the Czech Republic, the Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey and Venezuela.

Additional messages received from international, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations include one from the Women's International Democratic Federation.

I suggest that in accordance with previous practice, and taking into account the usual financial implications, the text of these messages be published in a document of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN: I should also like to take this opportunity to announce the results of this morning's pledging conference. A total of 19 Member States made pledges and contributions to the trust funds and to the programmes of assistance for southern Africa. A total of $3,032,927.44 was received for the United National Education and Training Programme for Southern Africa, and the sum of $1,871,664.21 was received for the Trust Fund for South Africa.

In concluding today's observance, I should like to express once again our gratitude and thanks to all the participants in our solemn meeting for their support and their solidarity with the many who have suffered for so long under the obnoxious system of apartheid and with all those who are victims of racial discrimination all over the world.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.